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walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *facfae*) was worn by chiefs during times of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman (30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

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Soul catching was practiced under certain circumstances: If a murder or theft was committed and the perpetrator of it was not known, the people assembled at the place of the crime and fanned around it to drive the perpetrator's soul to the house of the local priest. The priest had a net prepared at his residence with which to catch the soul of the culprit. Finally it was captured in the form of a butterfly or other insect and wrapped in tapa. Then the priest made known to the people the man who committed the crime. The relatives of this man cooked pigs, yams, and other food, which they brought to the priest together with tapa and mats. They besought the priest to return the culprit's soul. If the priest was obdurate, the man died.

Perhaps related to the concept of death through soul capture is the belief that a chief or superior relative can pray a person to death. The father's sister's prayer is the most efficacious. The term *hufi* denotes one who prays another to death as well as the act of praying to death, although the word has the broader meaning of "intercession." Praying to death is said to have been frequent. Some god is appealed to: "Oku ou kele atu. . . . ofa ke mate. . . ." (I beg you [the god] that [So and So] shall die). The term *fakamalaia* means to curse, to anathematize, to cause a curse. *Kape* and *tatao* are malevolent charms of which Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 424; vol. 2, p. 226) gives examples.

So far as could be learned, the Tongans did not conceive of plants and animals having souls. In fact one informant, familiar with Fiji, contrasted Fiji with Tonga in this regard. The only indication of animism is in certain animal tales in which the octopus, rat, and ant are endowed with conversational abilities (26, pp. 206, 207). The fact that the gods used animals as their temporary incarnations, "the boat of the god," was of course no manifestation of animism.

Independent of the *tuuola*, or apparition idea, is the belief that the soul can leave the body while the person is in an unconscious state and can wander at will, as for example to Pulotu (26, pp. 153-155). The *tuuola* is visible and the appearance is reported by an observer; the disembodied soul's adventures are not observed by another, but are subjectively recorded.

The notes which follow were recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley, while he was residing in the Haapai Islands of Lifuka, Foa, and Haano:

You know the girl Hina? Well, when she was but a tiny thing her mother Topinisa was taken ill and gradually got worse and in no very long time she was taken to a new and hastily constructed house to end her days, as is our custom. One day whilst Hina was sleeping in her hanging bed, her father Ungakotu, now dead, was lying on his sleeping mat with a bamboo pillow under his head. He was not asleep, however, and presently he saw the head of a big rat. It was neither a *kumo papalangi* (European rat) nor a Tongan rat, appearing over the top of one of the posts that support the roof. He watched and gradually it crawled down the post with its eyes fixed on Hina's bed. Hina's father gently shifted his position and resting

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sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months. 787 828

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food. [753]

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*). [753] [831] [776]

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect. 789 755 754

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.) 756

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given. [757]

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent. 789 825 [846]

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50). 789

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said: 789 856

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots	[539]
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth	[538]
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.	

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may 777

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be ten. Ten heads as trophies, or ten enemies slain, was the aim of each warrior. Ten sharks taken relieved fishing-canoe owners from further ceremonial observances. Ten constituted the winning number of points in dart-throwing (*sika*) and bowling (*fakateka*).

The term *tukutuku taumuli* is to make a new boat lucky. Whether it is an actual object or merely a ceremonial act, I did not learn.

Fishermen doubtless had many magical practices in connection with their profession. The following is a fisherman's call, bidding the fish to partake of the bait:

E kai mai, kai mai,	O, eat there! eat there!
E tuona, faona, kai ho'o feke kuo osi mama,	O pull, stretch, eat your masticated octopus,
E tuona, tuo tuona, faona mai kai ma,	O pull, pull steady, stretch there, eat there
Kai mai e.	O eat there!

Whether the call is used for shark fishing, I cannot say, but at any rate, the fishermen talk to the shark, directing its actions and soliciting its help. Often the shark is called Hina and is perhaps identified with that deity (26, p. 183).

The sea slug (*mulione*) when taken, is split in half along its lateral edge and the upper half thrown back into the water with the belief that a new slug will grow from it.

Weak children, when weaned, are fed on rats and cats to get back their strength, as these animals are said to be long lived and hard to kill. The same idea is involved in the use of the word *kuma* (rat) as a personal name for a child who nearly dies at birth. The name Kuma is believed to preserve his life.

To-day there is a certain amount of belief in witchcraft. A wizard or witch is called a *fakalouakau* (*louakau*, leaf; *lou*, leaf; *akau*, a tree or medicine). It seems likely, therefore, that interpreted literally *fakalouakau* means a person who operates with leaf medicine. The accounts of two informants which I obtained in 1920 stress the use of leaves in witchcraft.

An informant in Lifuka Island, Haapai, said that the sorcerer operates with different kinds of leaves rolled in a ball and wrapped in tapa, the ball being placed in the dwelling house or somewhere in the plantation of the victim to encompass his sickness and death or to cause his crops to fail. As the leaves in the ball rotted the victim was believed to sicken.

The second informant (or rather, pair of informants, a man and wife), interviewed on the island of Nomuka, Haapai, said that the aid of a *tevolo* was necessary for success in witchcraft. A man who became a wizard went into the bush and prepared a bamboo tube in which he put the leaves. The informant said that if a person steals up close to the wizard he will hear

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him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the bush he will either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fellow townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives dare not avenge his death.

The two Nomuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

> The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams.

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nomuka informants knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had heard of witchcraft among other people.

> Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915.

> Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.)

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arrive, and learning from them the fate of the Port au Prince, take an ample revenge for the injury done their countrymen: but Finow, fortunately, was not of this opinion; he conceived that white people were of too generous and forgiving a temper to take revenge, and therefore declined doing them any farther mischief. He had probably acquired this favourable idea of us, from observing that Europeans were not accustomed to knock out the brains of those under their command for trifling offences!

As Mr. Mariner had in his possession a few printed books and some writing paper, he was often found by Finow either writing or reading: one day the latter desired him to give up all his books and papers; which, when he had done, with the exception of a journal of the voyage, he had the mortification to find that they were ordered to be burnt. On requiring an explanation of this extraordinary conduct, on the part of a man who appeared on other occasions to be so much his friend, he was informed, through the medium of Tooi Tooi, that the king could not, on any account, allow him to practise witchcraft to the injury of the Tonga people; and that it was well known to the king and many others, that those books and papers were instruments and means of invocation, to bring down some evil or plague upon the country. Mr.

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Mariner could not very well comprehend Tooi Tooi's interpretation; but when he afterwards understood the language, the king explained to him his opinion of books and papers, and gave his reasons for that opinion, in the following account.

"Some years ago, on the arrival of an Euro-
"pean vessel, one of the white men came to
"live among them by choice. This man's
"name was Morgan. He lived for a considera-
"ble time on terms of great friendship with
"the natives, and was much respected by them.
"Some time afterwards there came another Eu-
"ropean vessel," (the Duff, Captain Wilson, with the missionaries,) "and from this ship also
"there came several white men, to live by
"choice among them. The white men that
"came last built a house, in which they used often
"to shut themselves up, to sing and perform
"ceremonies, (as Finow expressed it). Matters
"went on very well for some time: at length a
"quarrel ensued between Morgan and the other
"white men, at first about an iron pot which he
"wanted to borrow of them, and then about
"some pigs which they said he had stolen from
"them: upon this they informed the chiefs that
"this Morgan had been a bad man in his own
"country, and was under sentence of banish-
"ment for his crimes; but from the full execu-

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177 " tion of which he had escaped." (He had ac-
754 tually escaped from Botany Bay.) " The people
797 " then began to treat Morgan with every species
829 " of insult, so that his life was very uncom-
" fortable, and often in great danger. Morgan
" in his turn told the chiefs who *they* were; viz.
" that they were men sent out by the king of
" England to bring a pestilence upon the people
" of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut
" themselves up in this house, to perform witch-
" craft, and make incantations, which was the
" cause of the pestilence that then raged:"
[164] (there was an epidemic disease at the time,
[791] which was very fatal among the chiefs, two or
three dying every day) " and that all their
" books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs
" began to take Morgan's statement into serious
" consideration; there certainly was a great
" mortality among them: the white men often
" assembled, and sang very loud; besides which,
" they would not let the Tonga people be pre-
" sent; and to prevent them even from peeping
" through the crevices of the reed fencing of
" the house, they stopt them up with all kinds
" of filth, knowing that the cleanliness of the
" Tonga people would not then allow them even
" to approach. And the chiefs said to them-
" selves, if these people are doing no harm, why
" do not they allow us to be present? we do

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"not conceal our ceremonies from them, why
"do not they expose theirs to us? In the mean
"while Morgan said to the chiefs, 'You see the
"'effect of their incantations; several of you
"'are dying every day; by and by you will be
"'all cut off, and the king of England will take
"'possession of your islands; for although you
"'have the remedy in your power, you will not
"'make use of it.'—The chiefs took the alarm
"in time; they rushed upon the white men,
"and killed all but three*, who were at that
"time under the protection of Veachi;" a great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

Such was the cause of the fate of the missionaries, as related by the king to Mr. Mariner, who often afterwards heard the same relation from other chiefs. He inquired what became of the three that were under the protection of Veachi, and learnt that they were killed during a civil war: they might indeed have made their escape, along with some natives who invited them into a canoe, which was going to another island, but they chose to remain; urging for their reason that they had not quarrelled with any of the Tonga people, and that consequently they should not be hurt; the others informed them, however, that it was the Tonga custom

* From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that only three were killed.

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727 sion to Finow, and to all the men and women
634 present, particularly as he now and then whis-
177 pered a little love anecdote, which was strictly
[522] written down, and audibly read by the other,
not a little to the confusion of one or other of
the ladies present: but it was all taken in good
humour, for curiosity and astonishment were the
prevailing passions. How their names and cir-
cumstances could be communicated through so
mysterious a channel, was altogether past their
[754] comprehension. Finow had long ago formed
his opinion of books and papers (see p. 60), and
this as much resembled witchcraft as any thing
he had ever seen or heard of. Mr. Mariner in
vain attempted to explain. He had yet too
slender a knowledge of their language to make
himself clearly understood: and, indeed, it
would not have been an easy matter to have ex-
plained the composition of elementary sounds,
and of arbitrary signs expressive of them, to a
people whose minds were already formed to
other modes of thinking, and whose language
had few expressions but what concerned the or-
dinary affairs of life. The only rational mode
would have been, to have invented a system of
spelling, and to have gone through the usual
routine of teaching it. Finow, at length, thought
he had got a notion of it, and explained to
those about him that it was very possible to put

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712 prevent the seditious from forming cabals and
[721] parties, which they might more easily do whilst
[661] living at a distance up the country, than they could under the eyes of the king. But it was not proposed that they should reside constantly at the garrison, and, by that means, neglect their plantations in the country, but that each should have a house built with the usual conveniences for his wife and family, within the fencing, to reside in at night, visiting his plantations during the day; or to retire to wholly, in case of invasion, civil commotion, and when-
[634] ever the king should order him to do so. This proposal of Finow Fiji being assented to by the king, the former requested permission to have the sole management of laying out the plan, and to see it carried into effect, which the latter readily agreed to.

668 During the time the garrison was being re-
754 built, a circumstance happened which seemed
634 to indicate that a conspiracy was on the eve of being formed, if not actually begun, and, as the circumstance alluded to is connected with a certain superstitious ceremony worthy of detail, we shall be particular in the description of it, and give the account of it exactly as it happened.

[837] Foonagi, the wife of Finow Fiji, and formerly the wife of Tymomangnoongoo (a great warrior,

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who was a party concerned in taking the Port au Prince), was a woman of uncommon penetration and discernment, and, on that account, as well as from the circumstance of her being the daughter of a chief who was a friend of the late Finow's father, was highly regarded by the late king, and who attached himself to her so much, that it is supposed she lived with him as his mistress during the time that she was actually the wife of her first husband. She was a woman extremely religious, and universally respected, on account of her accurate knowledge with regard to all religious ceremonies, on which subject she was frequently consulted by the chiefs; and, upon political matters, Finow himself often consulted her, for in this, also, she stood eminent in the esteem of every one. To Finow she seemed as much attached as he to her; and, after his death, mourned his loss with a sorrow beyond the reach of comfort. She, above all others, was most attentive in decorating with flowers planted by her own hand, and, with the utmost solicitude, keeping in order the *fytoca* where lay the body of her deceased friend. For the space of six months this faithful mourner scarcely ever slept but on his grave, watering it with her tears, and disturbing the silence of the night with her sighs. One day she went, with the deepest affliction, to the house of Mo-oonga

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Toobó, the widow of the deceased chief, to communicate what had happened to her at the *fytoca* during several nights, and which caused her the greatest anxiety. She related that she had dreamed that the late How appeared to her, and, with a countenance full of disappointment, asked, why there yet remained at Vavaoo so many evil-designing persons; for, he declared, that, since he had been at Bolotoo, his spirit had been disturbed by the evil machinations of wicked men conspiring against his son; but he declared that "the youth" should not be molested, nor his power shaken by the spirit of rebellion; that therefore he came to her with a warning voice, to prevent such disastrous consequences. The apparition next desired her to place in order the pebble-stones upon his grave*, and pay every attention to the *fytoca*; he then disappeared. This troublesome dream she had had three or four nights successively. Mo-oonga Toobó, upon hearing this account, thought it expedient to search the *fytoca*, to see if the charm of *tattao*† had not been practised in re-

* It must here be recollected, that mourners were accustomed to smooth the graves of their departed friends, and cover them with black and white pebbles.

† The charm of *tattao* consists in hiding upon the grave, or in any part of the *fytoca*, some portion of the wearing apparel of an inferior relation of the deceased, in consequence of which that relation will sicken and die; or, it may be bu-

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gard to the present Finow. They accordingly went together to the grave, and, after accurate examination, they discovered several bits of *gnatoo*, and a wreath of flowers curiously formed in a peculiar manner, invented by one of the wives of the king, and which they recollected to have seen him wear round his neck a few days before.

This circumstance being communicated to Finow, and coming to the ears of his chiefs, and of the matabooles of the late How, produced considerable consternation among many of them. Finow, however, with that cool presence of mind which marked his character, issued orders to his chiefs to keep a vigilant look out, and, without discovering the least alarm, did every thing in the way of preparation against the worst that might happen. He kept Mr. Mariner constantly near him, that he might not be accidentally separated from him in case of any public disturbance. On all occasions he endeavoured to make the conspirators (if any such there were) believe that he was perfectly off his guard, and in conscious security, and,

ried in the house consecrated to the tutelar god of the family. This charm is not supposed to have the desired effect when the grave of a deceased person is made use of, unless the deceased was of superior rank to the person on whom the charm is practised.

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668 the better to convince them of this, he feigned
754 to imagine that the bits of buried gnatoo, &c.
634 must have been hidden there by some dogs in
661 their play: by expressing himself in this way, he was in hopes of emboldening the conspirators to proceed with less caution in their plan, under the idea that he was off his guard. All this precaution, however, and studied policy, were unnecessary, as no signs of conspiracy became evident, and, perhaps, no conspiracy existed.
712 In the mean time, the building and fortifying the garrison with extra ditches went on with dispatch, and, in a short time, was completed to the perfect satisfaction of Finow.

486 Shortly after the fortress was finished, a canoe
628 arrived from the Hapai islands with Tonga-
634 mana, a chief of the line of Tooitonga, who
651 came from Toobó Toa, with a request to know
643 how the *inachi* * was to be sent to Tooitonga, seeing that Finow had declared that no communication whatever was to be kept up with Ha-
[292] pai. As all on board were habited in mats,
[301] with leaves of the ifi tree round their necks, as a token of submission, and that they came upon
486 a religious duty, they were permitted to land.
628 After having presented cava to several conse-
634 crated houses, they came before Finow, and

765 * The annual tribute of the first fruits of each island, to
276 Tooitonga.

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great insight into matters of futurity, he shot it with his musket: but, however, this did not prevent them from going back to their garrison; and several had a full conviction that Mr. Mariner would soon be killed for this sacrilege.

In respect to the charms practised among them, we have also a few words to say. The principal is that called *tatáo*, which has already been described, Vol. I. chap. 14.[A] There are only two other practices which can well come under this head, viz. *cábe*, or rather *vangi*, which means a curse, or a malevolent order or command; and *ta nioo*, a charm to discover whether a sick person will live or die. Of the former, viz. *cábe*, we have given instances (Vol. I. p. 284), from which it will appear that they are chiefly malevolent wishes, or commands, that the object may eat, or otherwise maltreat his relations or gods; and when we come to reflect that they believe in no future place of punishment, but that all human evils are the consequences of crimes, and that disrespect to one's superior relations is little short of sacrilege to the gods, these malevolent commands, however ridiculous some of them may appear to us, amount to the most horrible curses; for if such commands were fulfilled, nothing less than the most dreadful of human miseries would be ex-

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 424-425--Analyst]

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pected to fall on the head of the sacrilegious perpetrator. But it is only when a number of curses are repeated in a string, as it were, and pronounced firmly, and with real malevolence, that they are supposed to have any effect; but not even then, if the party who curses is considerably lower in rank than the party cursed. When a whole string is thus uttered, it is properly called *vángi*, and is often to the amount of thirty or forty in number. Mr. Mariner has heard one consisting of eighty maledictions, all disposed in rhyme; the rhyme, however, is not necessary: for a tolerable fair sample of this wonderful charm, the following may be taken: "Dig up your father by "moonlight, and make soup of his bones; bake "his skin to cracknel; gnaw his skull; devour "your mother; dig up your aunt, and cut her "to pieces; feed upon the earth of your grave; "chew the heart of your grandfather; swallow "the eyes of your uncle; strike your god; eat "the gristly bones of your children; suck out "the brains of your grandmother; dress your-"self up in the skin of your father, and tie it on "with the entrails of your mother," &c.&c.&c.

As to the charm of *ta nioo*, it consists in spinning a cocoa-nut with the husk on, and judging by the direction of the upper part, when again at rest, of the object of inquiry, which is chiefly, whether a sick person will recover: for this

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

a reef at low tide, suddenly fell down with some sort of seizure. She was removed to the hospital. She declared that the ghost of her mother's brother had struck her violently across the face. 775

Exorcism for the driving out of spirits from possessed persons is still sometimes practised. 789

In the central province, Haapai, a man severed his connection with the Free Church and became a Mormon. His friends and relatives who were Free Church members, declared there would be no rest for his soul. In a few months he died. His widow and a relative were haunted by his ghost, which would rudely awaken them from sleep by shaking them. The nuisance was abated only when they resorted to his grave and broke up his skeleton. His visitations were thought to be a divine punishment for his disloyalty to the Free Church. 775 [795]

On the night following the excavation of some ancient burials on Kao Island the natives who were encamped a hundred yards from the tomb, said they heard wailing at the tomb. It was the "blood" of the deceased ancients bemoaning the removal of their bones.

Anciently the apparition of an illuminated native sailing vessel—a ghost ship—forboded the death of a chief. To-day European type vessels and even steamers appear as ghost-ships portending death. 763 [178]

In one of the more remote Haapai Islands is at least one Christian minister who places effective tabus on growing crops to prevent the inroads of pigs and rats. The writer has himself seen plantations guarded by both barbed wire and tabu badges. The latter were observed in two forms. One was a small package of pulverized herbs to cause illness in the trespasser. The other was a cocoanut leaf bound on the trunk of a tree as the emblem of Taufa the shark god. This bore with it the prayer that the trespasser might be bitten by a shark when next he bathed in the sea. 784 241 784 [754] [789]

Christianity with its Sabbath and various "shalt nots" has found a ready ally in ancient heathen tabu. The tabu idea has simply been transferred to another set of concepts. For the same reason quarantines (tabus) against various islands or groups of islands are readily enforced by the medical authorities to-day. The game laws, too, are heeded 177 784 744 671

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

footed beasts, and creeping things." (Rom. i. 22, 23.)

The sacrifices offered to the gods consisted chiefly of animals, fruits, vegetables, and native valuables. Upon special occasions, however, finger-joints were offered; and, in great emergencies, human victims were immolated to propitiate the angry deities. These acts were by no means unfrequent; and their was a certain *faahiga*, or tribe, from which the sacrificial victim was usually selected.

The priesthood was hereditary, and constituted a numerous and powerful body, in former times, whose support taxed, very heavily, the labour and substance of the people. The priests took rank from their gods and chiefs; the worship of the latter determining, in great measure, the popularity of the former. The power of the priest, though it partook more of a religious character, was second only to that of the chiefs. Their persons were esteemed sacred because of their presumed familiarity with the gods; and these spiritual lords of the people, like the temporal ones, neglected no opportunity of personal aggrandizement, and the advance of their selfish interests. Even over the warrior-chiefs, the priests exercised a powerful influence, and often made their religious fears and blind devotion subservient to their covetous desires. In sickness, or when under the fear of sorcery, their favourable consideration was only to be secured by gifts, proportioned to the rank of the applicant. Incantations to be practised upon enemies, or counter ceremonies, to ward off imaginary evil influences from them, could only be obtained at great cost. Of these death-dealing incantations, both chiefs and

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

754 common people had the utmost dread. So firm indeed was the belief of the people in the power of an enemy or priest to *tukitalai*, or consign them to death, that when once the victim knew that the *tuki*, or ceremony of cursing, had been performed, he generally pined away, and fell a sacrifice to his fears: or else the parties concerned would not scruple to employ the secret agency of poison, to accomplish the fulfilment of the threat. Even to this [178] day these superstitious fears exist, though they are gradually wearing away. Like the remembrance of goblin tales, the fear remains after the faith has been destroyed. A case of this kind came to the writer's personal knowledge, while residing in Tongatabu. A well-known young and clever chief, called Netani Nauvaivai, (I think this was his name; but, not having written it at the time, I may be mistaken in the native cognomen,) came from a long residence in Fiji to reside with his relative Ata, the chief of Hihifo. About a year after his 754 arrival he began to complain of languor, and his 763 strength rapidly failed. He was a man of great mental and physical energy, and in religious and general knowledge was far in advance of most around him. I attended him in his sickness, and was with him when he died. His disease was undoubtedly abscess of the liver. But some of the attendants one day told me that they believed he was dying through the effects of *sausau*, or Fijian sorcery. I mentioned this to the sick man some days before his death. He smiled, and said that he believed nothing of the sort; but that it was, nevertheless, quite true that, three years previously, when journeying with a party of heathen Fijians, he had violated a *tabu*, by eating of certain for-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

bidden sugar-cane; upon which the Fijians told him that he was a doomed man, and should not long survive his offence. He laughed at their fears, and had never thought of it again, until he was reminded of it by a Fijian woman, one of the attendants who had accompanied him from Fiji, and who firmly believed that his sickness and death were solely attributable to that cause. Netani himself had no such opinion, and died a very peaceful and happy death, trusting in his Saviour; but it was evident that many around him thought otherwise; thought, in fact, that he had been prayed to death by the heathen.

It cannot be cause of surprise that the dread of sorcery, and especially the fear of the power of the priesthood to pray people secretly to death, should have obtained such complete dominion over the native mind, when we remember, how by Papal fulminations, and paper interdicts and excommunications, the Church of Rome exerted her authority, in olden times, even in enlightened Europe. By the bugbear of a Papal anathema, whole kingdoms were thrown into a state of distress and panic, scarcely conceivable in modern times.

We have seen, however, by what took place in Vavau on the introduction of Christianity, how much the priestly craft, and the whole system of lies which it propagated and sustained, depended upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own re-

23: Colocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 *Toka*, cross-pieces laid on long longitudinal beams in house.

Toka-'a-buaka, lit. lying of pig, used, e.g., of wrestlers on the ground so confused that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other.

Tokaga, place where crabs collect and burrow.

Toka-ligoligo, calm.

Tokalinoa, with boulders lying about in various directions (?).

Tokamohu, hiccough.

[821] ← *Tokavaha*, lying between. Winds are named from geographical features, and this word indicates a wind between two such features.

Tokeia, attend, watch carefully; strike, pummel.

[226] ← *Toki-a-liu*, first shark caught by a boat (there is a festival to mark the event).

Toko-moulu, go secretly, quietly.

Tolo, sexual intercourse (this is doubtful, and in any case seems not to be primary meaning).

Toloni, apparently a kind of necklace.

Tolosia, rusted, rotten.

Toloveifua, presentation to a family on such an occasion as a birth or death.

Tonumia, buried. (Syn. *tanumia.*)

Totoa, name of a grass (called *masalu* in Vava'u).

Toto'eitu, a tree with stinging leaves (plentiful in Eua; also called *Salato).*

Toto'oga, plural of *to'oga.*

[754] ← *Totofisi*, a plant with dark purplish leaves. (It was very potent in witchcraft.)

Totoka-fanua, misty and calm.

Totokia, a war weapon (perhaps a type of club), sharpened at one end for striking downwards.

Tu, move. Cf. *Tutu, tuki*, etc.

Tu, interjection, Ah, indeed, yes.

Tu, Oa, Ioia, Ia, E, I-o, Ioi, Lioi, responses and exclamations in chanties sung whilst hauling heavy weights.

Tua ofa, respectful and affectionate address to a high chief.

Tua ofa 'eiki.

Tua-utu, edge of burial mound.

Tuafale, top of house on boat, bridge of ship.

Tuaga, place where dregs are thrown. *Tuaga cfe*, place where dregs after straining *kava* are thrown.

Tuakoi, leaning against each other.

Tuia, believe, believing.

Tuibabanu, a kind of club.

Tuiga-babai, one sort of necklace.

Tui-kako, plaiting flowers together to form a wreath, or necklace.

Tuila, a shell-fish. V. *Bikitogo.*

Tuitalavalu, a club, somewhat resembling the *likuvalu* (q.v.).

Tuituirao, a wreath or necklace of flowers; also the name of a plant used in making the scented wreaths and girdles.

Tu'ona, pulled, jerked. Cf. *Tu'o.*

Tu'uola, apparition of spirit apart from body.

Tu'u'ulu, head foremost.

Tu-uefiafi, the evening star, Venus. (Also called *Tabukitea.)*

Tu'u-ofi, urinate. Syn. *Tu'utata* (Baker).

Tu'ula, delight, pleasure.

Tu'ulaga, meaning uncertain.

Tu'umama'o, evacuate bowels.

Tu'u ki vai, go on a voyage.

Tu'umoa, an early stage in formation of fruit of banana and plantain.

Tu'usiki, squat on heels.

Tu'u tauhoa, standing in couples, a manner of placing dancers, each man in front row having a woman immediately behind him, or vice versa, or men and women alternating in same row.

Tu'u-tobe, hasten.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a sign that if they met a certain man wearing a ragged loin-cloth they would know that they had to expect opposition. During the time when Taufaahau (King George I) was hesitating between Christianity and heathenism a shark came alongside the boat in which he was one day sailing. He seized his spear and made his throw an augury. If he missed, the shark was the god Taufa-tahi (Taufa of the Sea), but if his aim went true then it was just a shark. He missed, and thereupon threw into the sea two native Christians who were with him. The ancient Tui Tonga, Kauulufonua, in the midst of his victorious career, declared on the eve of battle that in the coming fight his followers should know whether his prowess were the effect of his own might or of the protection of a god. If he were wounded in front he owed his victories to the god, but, if behind, to himself. The event showed that he owed his successes to his own courage and skill.

Mariner relates that the spinning of a coconut and observing its position when again at rest was a common method of interrogating the unknown, particularly as to the fate of sick persons. An instance of this has already been mentioned.

WITCHCRAFT

Something has been said of magic when speaking of tabu, but a few further notes may be added. A non-malevolent but extremely disgusting example of sympathetic magic was related to me by a friend. On one occasion whilst he was at sea and exceedingly sea-sick an old native, unable any longer to endure the sight of his distress, begged to be allowed to drink his vomit as a sure way of checking his sufferings. In my friend's case the mere suggestion threatened to be effective by depriving him once and for all of all the organs by virtue of which a man can be sea-sick.

But given magic there naturally follows man's effort to gain magical control over his fellows. The usual terms applied to the black art in Tonga are *hangatamaki* and *fakalouakau*. An excellent note on the former term is contained in Mr. Murley's manuscript. He points out that the word hangatamaki, which is very freely used in descriptions of illness, covers a large range of disorders, principally of the

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

boil and ulcer sort; that further there are different individuals who specialize in the cure of different diseases. Should a man desire, for example, to put a tabu on his plantation, he will go to a person who has the reputation of being able to cure some sort of hangatamaki with the request that this medicine man (or woman) assist him with his art. The practitioner then makes up little bundles of medicine and hangs them about the premises it is desired to protect. Should anyone, even the owner, dare to break the tabu and touch anything on the property he will be afflicted with the special hangatamaki in which the medicine man consulted specializes, who again is alone able to cure these punitive visitations, which he will be quite ready to do—for a consideration. When it is desired to remove the tabu the owner and the medical practitioner together go and take down the packages. The practice of putting a plantation under the protection of a shark god has already been mentioned.

In 1917 a man died in Tonga as the result of the black art as practised on him by a man of Fiji. In this case the witchcraft was described by the term fakalouakau, that is "by a leaf," or "making a leaf." It seems that a year or two previously the unfortunate victim had been on a visit to Fiji, and had been put under the spell of fakalouakau by a native of that country. Report hath it that contemporaneously with the death of the Tongan the maleficent Fijian also met his own end. One method of practising fakalouakau is to get something which has been in close contact with the person on whom it is desired to operate, e.g., nail-parings, and wrap it up and bury it. As the buried object rots a sympathetic disease will appear in the victim. One man in discussing these matters drew his examples entirely from Fiji. He said that in Fiji a man would take a piece of young leaf shoot and chew it, muttering the while the name of the person he wished to injure. It is dangerous for anyone to come in contact with such a fragment of leaf after it has been spat out; and the basket in which the Tongan medicine to cause the hangatamaki is kept is likewise a source of peril. This man added the further information regarding the black art amongst his neighbors of the Fiji group that there one may cause foot trouble in an enemy by stabbing his foot-prints. A Fijian after drinking a coconut should

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

split it open before throwing it away. An unsplit nut which had been drunk would be a great find for the medicine man who could use it to work spells on the drinker; but by opening it up one allows the emanation from himself which entered at drinking to escape. One is inclined to suppose that amongst the Tongans the Fijians enjoyed a sinister reputation for preëminence in the black art.

Possession

An interesting comparison with Tongan belief is furnished by a letter from the Rev. S. W. Brooks to the *Methodist Magazine* (1867 Pt. I, p. 462) written from Bue, Fiji, in August, 1865:

> Among the company there was one Abraham, a strange-looking man, perhaps fifty years old. He was covered with remarkable excrescences, varying in size from a pea to a fowl's egg. On questioning the simple-minded chief as to the cause of this, and the age of the man, I made out these two remarkable things: 1. That the devil was the cause, and it was because his father had given his mother a hatchet before the child's birth; 2. That he was a thousand years old.

The devil gets rather more than his due among primitive men.

The belief in demonic possession still obtains more or less amongst the Tongans. A form of hysteria is in particular associated with a diabolic visit. There is a credit, however, to be entered against all that is charged against the mischievous pranks of these other-worldly visitors. A man, partly of Tongan and partly of Fijian blood, relates that in Fiji there are those who are possessed by various gods, and whose supernatural power thus acquired is used for benevolent ends. They form a detective corps d'élite, of infallible efficacy in the tracing of stolen goods. Nor is their medical practice less availing. The fact that they sometimes console the patient with the assurance that he will die should be reckoned an indication of honesty rather than a confession of impotency. Their practice is clairvoyant diagnosis rather than magical healing, as they give practical assistance to the sick, sometimes by prescriptions of their own and sometimes by recommendations as to where they may obtain treatment. The narrator added that these possessed men and women were amongst the most zealous Christians, and noted for the exemplary goodness of their lives.

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[For a list of Tongan words on disease and medicine, see Category 192, pp. 14-19.]

757 ointments prescribed were of an antibacterial nature. Only an antifungal antibiotic would have worked in this case. After [278] treatment with the plant remedy (a concoction of the leaves of *Solanum uporo*, *Evodia hortensis*, and *Capsicum frutescens*), the patient reported that she was able to sleep, no longer kept awake by pain.

Collocott (7) believes that diagnosis proceeds by a series of trials with different medicines. He reports that one cure after another is tried until one is found that 759 works, or until the patient dies. As in Fiji, different practitioners have their own special 757 cures. For each of them the etiology of a [171] disease is unimportant. What matters is knowing if a certain condition is one they can cure (23). Each practitioner is highly specialized and may treat illnesses associated with only one body system. Some practitioners will treat all illnesses but are specialized in that they treat only children or the [755] aged. I did not encounter any practitioner who diagnosed a complaint through communications with the supernatural world. 753 There is one reference in the literature, however, which indicates that there is some belief in the psychological causation of certain diseases. Churchward's dictionary of [754] the Tongan language defines the word *sausau* as a bundle of leaves buried near a tree and believed to cause sickness to anyone taking fruit from the tree. The word *fula* is defined as a swelling caused by breaking a *tapu* (a cultural restriction), especially by eating a chief's leftover food (6).

278 Few plants are cultivated specifically for 249 their medicinal value, and many useful species are found growing in villages. Most 278 medicinal plants are collected in "the bush" or near the sea. There do not appear to be 314 any special harvesting techniques and the leaves, bark, and roots are taken from any plant of the required species.

278 Most medicines are prepared in the form of infusions. Generally, a handful of the required plant part is wrapped in a clean white cloth or the stipule of *Cocos nucifera* and squeezed five or six times in a half [757] coconut shell of fresh water. The resulting filtrate is taken usually once daily until the patient responds to treatment. In all cases where stem or root bark is used, the cork